CLASSIFICATION CENTRAL SINTELLIGENCE AGENCY

INFORMATION FROM FOREIGN DOCUMENTS OR RADIO BROADCASTS

REPORT CD NO.

COUNTRY

Yugoslavia

DATE OF

SUBJECT

Political - Government organization Economic - Organization

INFORMATION 1948 - 1952

HOW

PUBLISHED Handbook and monthly periodical

DATE DIST. 3/ Jan 1953

WHERE

PUBLISHED

Belgrade

NO. OF PAGES 16

DATE

PUBLISHED

Nov 1948 - Apr 1952

SUPPLEMENT TO

LANGUAGE Croatian; Serbian

REPORT NO.

AD THE U.S. CODE, AS AMENDED. ITS TRANSMISSION OR REVE ATION OF ITS CONTENTS TO OR PECEIFT BY AN UNAUTHORIZED PERSON I

THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION

SOURCE

Book and periodical as indicated.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Summary: Fart I of the following report, taken from Informativni prirucnik o Jugoslaviji, Book I, November - December 1948. traces the development of people's councils in Yugoslavia from their first establishment as national liberation councils in 1941, their changeover to people's councils in 1945, their development after People's Councils, enacted 1 April 1952. Part II, which contains an analysis of this law by Dr J. Djordjevic, is taken from the March - April 1952 Narodna drzava.7

I. THE EVOLUTION OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

The Yugoslav Communist Party line in regard to the establishment of people's liberation councils was as follows:

- 1. Since the first day of the national liberation uprising, the Yugoslav Communist Farty took a firm stand in regard to the destruction of the former bourgeois state and the development of the new revolutionary state.
- 2. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia formulated its policy accordingly, applying the teachings of Marx and Lenin when the country was occupied and the native bourgeoisie were committing national treason by directly and indirectly helping the occupation troops.

A national revolution was in progress at the same time as the national liberation war. The National Liberation Army was being developed on the one hand, and the national liberation councils on the other hand, the two being considered the most important achievements of the national revolution.

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The Yugoslav Communist Party organized the national liberation councils as organs of the people's authority. The people accepted this form of authority because it proved by its acts in liberated territory that it was the people's authority and that liberation from the occupation did not mean a return to the past.

The national liberation countils were the object of violent attacks by all the enemies of the people's revolution, as evidenced by Draza Mihajlovic, one of whose most important demends in his talks with the Supreme Command in 1941 was the restoration of the former municipality (opatina) administrations.

At the end of September 1981, a conference was held in Stolice near Krupanj, at which the Communist Farty of Yugoslavia took a clear and definite stand in regard to the further development of the national liberation councils. Under party directives, the organizing of National Liberation Councils as organs of the National Liberation Front and of the people's authority spread over the entire country in both liberated and unliberated areas. After the meeting in Stolice, Kardelj wrote an article entitled "The National Liberation Councils Must Recome The True Temporary Organs of the People's Authority," which was published in the 19 October 1981 issue of Borba. This was to provide guidance for the development of the national liberation councils, which were

- To organize the people in supplying needs of fighters at the front and in cooperating closely in this regard with the general staffs of the national liberation partisan detachments.
- To insure order in rear areas through people's guards, and combat looting, robbery, speculation, sabotage, espionage, and the like.
- 3. To organize food and other supplies for the population, especially for the families of those fighting at the front, and to organize the development of economic life as a whole (except that under military control) to help the front as much as possible.
 - 4. To strengthen connections between the front and rear areas.

The Establishment of the National Liberation Councils in Individual Parts of Yugoslavia

In Serbia, the first national liberation councils were called Councils of the National Liberation Front although they were already organs of the people's authority and not merely of the insurrection movement. It has not yet been determined when or where the first councils were organized, but they were established in Beigrade and Grocane spaces as early as July 1941. The name "National Liberation Council" seems to have made its appearance at the time of the capture of krupanj in September 1941.

The earliest directives for the organization of the councils were the directives issued the end of August 1941 by the Command of the Posalje National Liberation Partisar Detachment. These directives called for councils to be established in all villages, even in those which were not yet under the full control of the National Liberation Army, and stated that their general purpose was to act as administrative intermediaries between fighting units and villages. The functions of the councils were as follows: to organize food supplies for fighting units, to establish a National Liberation Fund, to procure clothing and footwear, to collect weapons left in the field to procure riding and work horses, to set up arms, ammunition, and equipment depots, to compile registers of the population able to bear arms, to control roads and prevent trade with the cities, to destroy small units and known fifth-columnists, to organize an intelligence service, to distribute literature,

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to sattle minor disputes between farmers, to care for the poor in the villages and for the families of partisans and arrested persons, and to launder the partisans' clothes.

When Krupanj was liberated, the recrie's authority issued a decree abolishing the authority of the srez administration, the municipality administration, and the gendarme station in Krupanj and ordered the establishment of the People's Guard, which was to be the executive organ of the new people's authority and the guardian of the personal property and security of the citizenry.

In November, the Main National Liberation Council of Serbia was organized in Uzice as the management organ of the National Liberation Front and the people's (district) national liberation councils. An okrug National Liberation Council was also organized in Uzice.

In August 1941 in Croatia, national liberation councils were organized in Lika (Gospic, Korenica, Donji Lapac, and Udbina srezes), in Kordun, (Vojnic, Kotar. The first srez National Liberation Council was organized in Donji Lapac was organized in the unliberated areas of Croatia, which mobilized the masses of the people for armed struggle against the occupation.

The network of national liberation councils continued to grow during 1942. By the middle of 1942, Dalmatia alone had 10 srez, 50 municipality, and over 500 local (mesni) national liberation councils. National liberation councils, not so that the spring of mostly village councils, were established in most of Istria in the spring of 1942 and the Initiatory (Inicipativni) National liberation Council was established in Pula. In April 1941 in Slovenia, field (terenskih) councils of the National Liberation Front had already assumed authority in the liberated srezes prior to supreme Plenum of the national liberation councils. On 20 September 1941, the into the Slovenian National Liberation Front, and issued a number of decrees on the organization of the national liberation struggle and on the people's authority. and liberated areas were organized, the Executive Council of the Liberation Front issued an order on 17 May that the field councils were to be in charge.

In Boenia, the first national liberation councils were established in liberated territory in 1941, the first council being organized in Skolac on 15 September.

In 1941, a number of national liberation councils, mostly village and municipality councils, were organized in Montenegro. The National Liberation Council of Montenegro and Boka was elected by the Paris Assembly in Ostrog in February 1942. It issued a number of decisions on the problem of organizing the people's authority and the tasks facing the people and the organs of the people's authority, such as assistance for the army, organization of the economy, and the like.

In Macedonia, the national liberation struggle started in 1941 and the first national liberation council was organized in Debar by the Macedonians and Albanians. The council's activity consisted of distributing propaganda material, expanding the organization, collecting assistance, and the like. National liberation councils were organized in other parts of Macedonia during 1942 in spite of the nationalist chauvinist activities of Bojan Balgaranov, who tried to prevent the organization of national liberation councils and proposed the organization of so-called national (nacionalni) councils.

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The first national liberation councils in the Vojvodina were organized in the spring of 1942. In the summer, srez national liberation councils were organized in Ruma, Mitrovica, and Pazovo and the Okrug National Liberation Council was organized in Srem. In the same year, village national liberation councils were organized in Silbas, Turija, and other places in the Backa area.

In Kosovo Metohija Oblast, the organization of national liberation councils started in 1941. Delegates from all parts of the oblast met in December 1943 and organized the National Liberation Council of Kosovo-Metohija.

A network of national liberation councils was organized in the Sandzak as early as 1941. A srez national liberation council was organized in Nova Varos.

In the first year of the uprising, the national liberation councils were already beginning to be the organs of the people's authority with solid roots in many parts of the country.

The First Central Regulations on National Liberation Councils

In February 1942 in liberated Foca, the Supreme Command issued two documents entitled The Tasks and Organization of National Liberation Councils, and Explanations and Instructions for National Liberation Councils in Liberated Areas. The council continued to develop along the principles outlined in these documents as follows:

- National liberation councils are to exercise all the functions of the people's authority except those belonging to the military organs.
- 2. The councils are to take measures to activate and organize all the people in the struggle against the occupation and against domestic traitors.
- Stipulated measures are to be taken by the councils to supply the National Liberation Army with food and other necessities.
- 4. Stress is to be placed on cooperation with the military organs in pursuing spies, saboteurs, traitors, and the like; taking action against thievery and looting; and settling minor disputes among the citizenry, and the like.
- 5. Special attention is to be given to providing for the welfare of the citizenry and of refugees, administering the economy, and setting up national liberation funds.
- 6. Stipulated procedures are to be followed in the election of national liberation councils. Conferences of delegates from lower ranking national liberation councils in areas concerned are to elect members of higher-ranking councils.

Detailed information was presented in the documents mentioned on the organization of village, municipality, and srez councils, and on the procedures for electing the various types of councils. The documents pointed out that the National Liberation Front was the most important strong connection between the front and the rear areas, and that the National Liberation Army was to be supplied through donations, requisitions, and confiscation of enemy property. The documents discussed the people's enemies and pointed out that all buildings and property pertaining to railroads, mines, roads, factories, and shops working for the army were to be under military adminis-

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These documents contained the basic principles for the organization of the people's authority, such as the election of councils, their responsibility to the people, their unified authority, their autonomy, equal rights for women, and the right of persons over '8 to vote.

The Development of the National Liberation Councils From Temporary Into

In mid-1942, after the Supreme Command and most of the National Liberation Army had arrived in Bosanska Krajina and had coordinated the uprising in Bosnia, Lika, Kordun, and Dalmatia, the liberated territory stretched from Glina to Podgora. The people's authority was firmly organized in this area. The Temporary Administrative Section of the Supreme Command directed the organization and the work of the people's authority until the AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia) was established. In addition, there were three areas which were not directly connected with this central liberated territory; namely, Zumberak, and the Papuk and Krndija areas in Slavonija. These areas included 34 srezes, each of which had a national liberation council. Each srez center was a srez and command headquarters. In September 1942, the Supreme Command issued the Decree on Elections of National Liberation Councils and the Decree on Organizing Rear-Area Military Authorities. These decrees were published in a brochure with Veselin Maslesa's article entitled "O narodnooslobidalackih odborima" (on People's Liberation Councils). To accompany the brochure, Tito wrote a letter which represented a turning point in the organization and development of the people's authority.

Tito's letter emphasized the following points:

- The national liberation councils and the military rear-area authorities are to remain organs of the people's authority.
- The character c? the national liberation councils is to be changed, but they are to continue to serve as transitional organs of the people's authority.
- The transitional character of the national liberation councils is to be only another phase in their development toward a higher phase.
- 4. The former forms of authority are finished, for the national liberation councils are the seed from which the future government is to be developed.

The Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia

The people's uprising in 1942, the liberation of large areas in the central part of Yugoslavia, the organization of the National Liberation Army, and the transformation of national liberation councils from temporary into permanent organs of authority created the necessary setting for the organization of the AVNOJ.

Since it had become impossible for the Supreme Command to continue directing political, administrative, and economic activities throughout such a large area, the Founding Assembly of the National Liberation Front was convened and the AVNOJ was elected as the highest political organ.

The resolution on the establishment of the AVNOJ emphasized the following points regarding the past work of national liberation councils.

At the beginning of the armed uprising, the national liberation councils sprang up in all parts of Yugoslavia, including both liberated and unliberated territories as the organs of front and rear-area unity.

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As they developed, the national liberation councils became organs of the new democratic authority and established themselves as the expression of the united will of the people to throw off the Fascist yoke.

There was not a single village in the liberated area which did not have a national liberation council under the direction of municipality and srez under cover under the hardest conditions to unite and mobilize the people in

The Development of the People's Authority Between the First and Second Sessions of the AVNOJ, and the Establishment of the Republic Anti-Fascist Councils

The basic political problem confronting the Executive Council of the AVNOJ was the further development of the people's authority or its organs, the national liberation councils. Among the first measures was the notification of elections for organs of the people's authority in a part of the liberated territory. The basic economic problems were related to trade, feeding the citizenry, official personnel, rents, and the like.

In January 1943 a conference of the representatives of srez and command national liberation councils was held. It was attended by 60 delegates representating 30 srez, and 12 command national liberation councils. The conference discussed the organization and strengthening of the people's authority, economic problems, and the line of demarcation between the authority of national liberation councils and rear-area military organs.

The establishment of provincial (zemaljskih) organs of the national liberation movement began during 1943, as follows:

- 1. The founding meeting of the ZAVNOH (the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Croatia) was held on 14 June 1943.
- 2. The founding meeting of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina was held on 26 November 1943. The Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Montenegro and Boka was established at Kolasin in mid-November 1943.
- 3. The Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of the Sandzak was organized in November 1943.
- 4. On 3 October 1943 at Kocevlje, the National Liberation Council of Slovenia was organized as the highest organ of state authority in Slovenia.
- Macedonia established an initiatory body to organize the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Macedonia.

The first session of the ZAVNOH provided a strong incentive for the development of national liberation councils. This session issued a manual on the work of national liberation councils based on the Supreme Command's decree work division in the councils. The following special duty sections were set up: administrative, economic, commerce, health, social, propaganda, and education.

However, prior to the first session of the ZAVNOH, a number of srez, okrug, and oblast national liberation councils had been organized, including okrug national liberation councils in Lika, Kordun, Banija, Gorski Kotar, the Croatian Primorje, and Zumberak; and oblast national liberation councils in Hercegovina, eastern Bosnia, and Bosanska Krajina.

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These high-level councils played a very important role in the development of the people's authority, because liberated areas were often the size of an okrug. In such areas, the okrug and oblast councils were the leaders of the resistance and the organs of the people's authority. Expecting a speedy and complete liberation, the national liberation councils started organizing their administrative apparatus as follows:

- Executive councils were act up in each national liberation council
 to act as the executive and administrative organ
- 2. Divisions and sections were set up in the executive councils to .

Such administrative machinery was well developed in the Slovenian National Liberation Council, in the ZAVNOH, and in Bosnia - Hercegovina.

The Second Session of the AVNOJ and the Ensuing Development of National

The second session of the AVNOJ was held on 29 November 1943. The political and military successes of the national liberation struggle, the successful offensive of the Red Army, the strengthening of the Anti-Fascist favorable conditions, so that it was possible to adopt decisions of constitutional significance. Through its national liberation councils, the AVNOJ and national liberation councils were constituted organs of state authority. The councils now entered a new phase of development characterized by the

- 1. National liberation councils were organized on the principle of Soviet democracy; they were to be the only local organs representing the new revolutionary state authority.
- 2. Provincial councils of the National Liberation Front were formed in individual areas, except in Slovenia, where the Executive Council of the Liberation Front had been in existence since 1941. Village, municipality, organized.
- 3. The development of councils was directed toward strengthening okrug and oblast councils.
- 4. Administrative machinery began to develop in the national liberation councils, with administrative, economic, education, propaganda, social, health, and commerce sections being developed. The March 1944 directives of the ZAVNOH for Croatia are typical of this phase of development. These directives called for the national liberation councils to be treated as organs of state authority; council to have sections for individual administrative sectors.

Administrative machinery was not yet fully developed in srez national liberation councils, but the okrug national liberation councils had created stronger and better ramified administrative machinery.

After the second session of the AVNOJ, Yugoslavia's federation began to develop on the basis of the AVNOJ's decisions. The provincial anti-Fascist councils became the highest state organs, as follows:

1. The National Liberation Council of Slovenia met in February 1964 and issued a new decree on elections to national literation councils.

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- 2. The ZAVNOH held its third meeting in May 1944, constituted itself the highest organ of state authority in Croatia, and issued the Decree on the Organization and Function of the National Liberation Councils and Assemblies
- 3. The ZAVNCBIH (Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Bosnia Hercegovina) held its second meeting on 1 July 1944 and constituted itself the highest organ of state authority in Bosnia Hercegovina, and issued a assemblies in Bosnia Hercegovina.
- 4. The CASNO (Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Montenegro) held its first meeting in Kolasin in July 1944.
- 5. The ASNOM, (Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Macedonia) held its first meeting in August 1944, and constituted itself the organ of state authority in Macedonia. Its presidium ruled on the organization and function of national liberation councils, on the basis of which directives were issued on their work.
- 6. The Frincipal (Velika) Anti-Fascist National Liberation Assembly of Serbia, which held its meeting immediately after Serbia's liberation in November 1944, constituted itself as the highest executive and legislative Work of the Main National Liberation Council of Serbia.

Reorganization of the National Liberation Councils Before the End of the War and Immediately After the Liberation

The liberation of Yugoslavia created new tasks for the party and state leadership in regard to the strengthening of the state machinery in general. The national liberation councils became more closely connected with federal and republic organs by performing the duties of the state authority and administration. The following factors were important during this period:

- 1. The Ministry of the Constituent Assembly issued the Thoses on the Development of the National Liberation Councils as Local Organs of the People's Authority. These theses were the basis for the drafting of the General Law on the People's Councils.
- The third session of the AVNOJ completed the process of developing the people's authority along the lines of its development during the war. However, the internal organization of the national liberation councils was
- General or partial elections for the national liberation councils were held in the individual republics immediately after the liberation.
- a. In 19/4, elections in Slovenia for local, srez, and okrug national liberation councils were held in Dolenjsko and Primorsko. Elections in the autumn of the same year. Elections had been held throughout all Slovenia by the end of 1945.
- b. On 29 July 1945 in Serbia and the Vojvodina, elections for the People's Assembly and local, Srez, city, and okrug national liberation councils were held.
- c. In September 1945 in Bosnia Hercegovina, elections for local, srez, city, ward (in Sarajevo), and okrug national liberation councils were

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- d. Elections for local national liberation councils in Dalmatia were held in February and March 1945. Elections for other levels of national liberation councils in other parts of Croatia were held in August, September, and October 1945. In these elections, capitalist elements not in conformity with measures of the people's authority were eliminated.
- 4. The basic struggle with capitalist elements was conducted in the economic sector and among the people.
- 5. The national liberation councils changed their name to people's councils and began working on rehabilitation of the country. This was possible since developed and reliable channels already existed throughout the country, which were under the direct management of party organizations.

The People's Councils From the Proclamation of the Constitution to the Introduction of the Five-Year Plan

The Constitution of Yugoslavia was proclaimed on 31 January 1946. In May 1946, the Federal People's Assembly passed the General Law on People's Councils, which strengthened them and their machinery. They became the management organs of the state, and their autonomy was increased. In the people's councils, especially in the lower-level councils, a struggle was waged to give them the proper class structure. New state measures helped to eliminate kulak elements from the councils. The following were typical of people's councils during this period.

- 1. The Constitution of Yugoslavia and especially the General Law on People's Councils confirmed and developed the basic principles on which the right of recall, unified authority, and the like.
- 2. The basic tasks of people's councils in general and also the tasks and sphere of authority of local, srez, okrug, and oblast councils were specified in regard to the plan, agriculture, communal life, industry, trade, artisans' trades, finance, labor relations, culture, education, and other matters depending on the type and size of Prople's council concerned.
- 3. The structure of the councils was prescribed and an especially important role was assigned to the assemblies of electors, which are convened to clarify problems concerning village life and village councils.
- 4. The sphere of authority and the structure of the executive council and its sections and subsections were specified.
- 5. The law provided for special committees or commissions to be established to perform special administrative duties. These special groups could include other citizens in addition to members of councils, thus increasing the people's participation in the work of people's councils.
- 6. City or srez people's gouncils were composed of a section for economic matters, including subsections for agriculture, industry and articulation, social welfare, and labor relations; a section for finance, a planning commission.
- 7. The relation between people's councils and executive councils and higher organs of the state authority and state administration were defined.
- 8. Local and srez people's councils and the republic People's Assemblies were strengthened, while municipality and okrug people's councils were abolished as follows:

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They were abolished in Serbia on 30 April 1947; in the Vojvodina, on 28 September 1946; in Croatia on 1 July 1947; in Slovenia on 25 January 1945; in Bosnia-Hercegovina on 1 September 1947, and in Macedonia on 30 January 1947. No okrug people's councils had been established in Montenegro.

.After the proclamation of the General Law on People's Councils and the republic laws on elections for people's councils, elections for all types of people's councils were held as follows:

- 1. In Serbia on 27 April 1947, for the city people's council and the ward people's councils in Belgrade; in October and November for the local, city, and srez people's councils, the People's Assembly of the Vojvedina, and the oblast council of Kosovo-Metchija.
- 2. In April and May 1947 in Croatia, for the local, srez, and city people's councils; in December 1947, for the Oblast People's Council of Dalmatia; and in February 1948, for the people's councils of Istria and
- 3. In November and December 1947 in Slovenia, for the local and ward people's councils; and in January on warch 1948, for the seez and city
- 4. In March 1947 in Bosnia-Hercegovina, for the local, arez, and city people's councils.
- 5. In March 1947 in Macedonia, for the srez, city, and ward people's councils; and in April 1957 for the local people's councils.
- On 19 October 1947 in Montenegro, for the local people's councils;
 and on 26 October, for the srez people's councils.

The following number of members of people's councils were elected:

	Local	Srez	City
Serbia	38,841	8,617	1,634
Croatia	40,873	6,701	2,183
Slovenia	14,888	1,776	225
Bosnia-Mercegovina	15,965	h,179	942
Mac adonia	7,146	2,333	
Montenegro	2,155	791	193
Total	119,868	24,397	5,177
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Reorganization of the People's Councils

The change-over to a planned economy meant new tasks in the further organizational development of the people's councils. The fulfillment of the plan and the management of the economic development of the country required the elimination of remnants of former organizational patterns and bureaucratic methods of management. The entire state machinery had to be reorganized in this direction and fitted for its new tasks.



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A conference of representatives of city people's councils was held at the beginning of 1947. It emphasized the role of the local economy and municipal activities in general. All the republics except Montenegro organized Ministries of Municipal Affairs, while Montenegro organized a Ministry of Industry and Municipal Affairs.

A conference of the representatives of srez and city people's councils was held at the end of 1947. At this conference, Kardelj and Kidric pointed out the direction the local and municipal economy should take. Principles, tasks, and organization were established.

The former organization of the administrative machinery of the people's councils made it difficult for the people's councils to carry out the development of the local socialist economy and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Therefore, the Fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party placed before the party and the state organs the task of reorganizing the administrative machinery of the people's councils, so that they would have a stronger connection with corresponding republic organs of the state

The Government of Yugoslavia issued the General Directive on the Establishment of Commissions in Srez and City People's Councils and on the Reorganization of the Administrative Machinery of People's Councils. On the basis of this directive, the federal council for Legislation and Development of the People's Authority issued the Directive on a Model Organization of Administrative Machinery in Srez and City People's Councils and the Work of the Commission for the Reorganization of the Administrative Machinery of People's Councils. The basic principles in these directives were as follows:

- 1. The executive council of the srez or city people's council might have the following commissions:
- a. Agriculture, forestry, and supplies; municipal activities; industry and artisans' trades; finance; labor; education and culture; public health; social welfare; local transportation, and srez planning and supervisory commissions.
- b. Special commissions for tourism, forestry, and fisheries could be established where necessary.
 - c. Individual commissions could be combined in small srezes.
- 2. For coordination and general administration, the executive council was to have a secretariat composed of the following sections: personnel, management, civil affairs, military, legal service, records service, administrative service, land-register office, and other organizational units established by decision of the republic government.
- 3. If necessary, it would be possible to establish within the commissions, administrations, sections, subsections, and other units (inspectorates, planning groups, instructing groups, operational groups, and service secretariats). Administrations were to be established for those activities for which the people's council had responsibilities toward other organs, establishments, or citizens. Sections were to be established for related activities which required expert treatment of individual questions. Inspectorates were to be established on the basis of special federal regulations.
- 4. Committees consisting of representatives of social organizations, federal and republic enterprises and establishments, and individual citizens could also be established to assist by bringing social organizations into the discussion and solution of important problems.

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- 5. The general direction over execution of policies set up by the people's council was to lie with its chairman, who would see that political policy was followed and would cooperate with social and political organizations, and with the secretary, who would coordinate the activities of the commissions, manage record-keeping, and take care of general administrative business, the personnel service, and the proper functioning of administration.
- 6. A collegium of commissions was established as a new form of collective work. It included all officials of commissions except administrative officials. The collegium, which was to meet at least once a week, would discuss objectives, propose measures, and make operating plans for the achievement of objectives. When necessary, the people's council would convene the collegium of management officials to discuss current objectives, clarify orders of the people's council and the executive council, and issue operating plans for the achievement of these objectives.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE GENERAL LAW ON PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

Dr J. Djordjevic

entitled The Organization and Work of People's Councils in Yugoslavia, the Council for Legislation and Development of the People's Authority at the beginning of April 1951 circulated proposals for changes in the organization and work of people's councils, to be studied by all federal ministries, republic councils for legislation and development of the people's authority, scientific and other establishments, and public and scientific workers.

The General Law on People's Councils, which was enacted 1 April 1952, was based on the results of this study. For an English translation of this law see "New Yugoslav Law," Bulletin on Legislation in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, published quarterly in English and French, No 1-2, 1952, available in the CIA Library. This translation renders "narodni odbori" (people's councils) as "people's committees."

The new law on people's councils is not directed toward the people's councils or the citizens, but toward the republics. The new law will fulfill its basic function when republic laws are enacted to implement it.

The new law is a basic law even though it does not settle all questions connected with the organization, jurisdiction, function, and work of people's councils. It is a constitutional law for it modifies a series of constitutional provisions on people's councils.

There is no arbitrary rule as to the number of laws the republics must enact to implement the basic principles of the new law. To date, the republics have enacted three laws on people's councils. The first governed the division of the republics into administrative and territorial units, and the second and third governed the election and recall of members of people's councils. According to present indications and announcements from the republic People's Assemblies, the republics will enact three additional laws. These will govern people's councils in municipalities, srezes, cities, and city municipalities (gradske opstine). Individual laws for each type of council will permit more specific and precise decisions, and make it possible to avoid too general and abstract formulas which would be unavoidable if a single law were enacted to govern the various types of councils.

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The new law establishes the jurisdiction of people's councils as follows:

- Jurisdiction is established by the new law and by decrees of higher state agencies.
- 2. Individual activities affecting the economic, communal, cultural, or social development of a local unit may be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the people's council concerned only as outlined by the law.
- 3. People's councils may enact supplemental provisions to the law on the basis of authority given them by the law. They may enact independent provisions in all matters directly pertaining to the economic, communal, cultural, or social development of a municipality if such matters are not regulated by law.
- 4. People's councils issue regulations regarding their jurisdiction on the basis of and within the limits of the law and the general provisions of higher state agencies.

Srez people's councils have jurisdiction over the enactment of general regulations dealing with matters of general interest to the entire srez, insure that work is done properly by municipality people's councils, and extend material and technical help to them.

City municipalities not only have broader jurisdiction than general municipalities, but certain matters formerly within the jurisdiction of srez people's councils may be placed within their jurisdiction. These matters may be determined by the law, or by decree or statute of srez people's councils. Such matters may be transferred from the jurisdiction of srez people's councils, depending on the development of the municipalities concerned. Until the election of new people's councils, municipality councils veloped city municipalities will have the jurisdiction of city people's councils outside the srez, except for internal matters which fall within the jurisdiction of srez councils.

The authority of srez people's councils over municipality people's councils, and of republic state agencies over srez councils consists of supervision of the legality of acts enacted by them. Supervision applies to all regulations and specific administrative acts enacted by people's councils, except for acts governing administrative procedures, which are governed by special regulations. As formerly, supervision includes suspending and repealing unlawful acts. As under former Yugoslav laws, administrative agencies of the srez people's council or the republic have the right to suspend but not to repeal unlawful acts enacted by the state government, but they may repeal unlawful acts enacted by municipality or srez people's councils, except where such repeal would militate against the common good. When the last is in question, such acts may be suspended pending decision of the higher-echelon agency. Similarly, higher-echelon agencies are permitted to suspend but not repeal unlawful acts enacted by people's councils on the basis of self-governing regulations, for the council concerned is the final judge for as-

Internal councils within people's councils are responsible to their own councils for the entirety of their work, with higher administrative agencies supervising them only in regard to the legality of acts enacted by them. Only when a people's council fails to exercise or delays exercising its rights will the supervisory agency be forced to take over, and the people's council be obligated to pay expenses resulting from such action. The presidium has the authority to dissolve a council when it exercises supervision counter to

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The new law is precise concerning agencies which have supervisory rights. These can be republic councils, ministries, independent agencies within the state administration, or chairmen of councils, depending on their jurisdiction. of more developed city municipalities, except over the work of people's councils has delegated to the city municipality council, or where a special law applies. In such cases, the supervisory right is held by the presidium of the republic People's Assembly, or the republic administrative agency concerned.

Administrative agencies which have supervisory rights are as a rule agencies of second instance. The law provides for srez people's councils, city people's councils, and more developed city municipality people's councils to be agencies of first instance. Municipality people's councils are agencies of first instance in regard to matters within their jurisdiction, and may be granted first instance jurisdiction in regard to other state agencies. If not otherwise directed, srez people's councils are agencies of second instance in regard to matters acted on people's council is the agency of second instance in regard to acts in which the srez council is an agency of first instance.

Organization and Work of People's Councils

The application of the provisions of the new law depends on the solution of the following problems: the organization of people's councils, the work methods of people's councils and their agencies, and the relation between agencies of people's councils, administration, and personnel.

1. Although the new law has established the foundations for the organization of people's councils, there are questions which can be solved only in the councils or by statute. Size and city municipality councils have the number of their internal councils [saveti which is translated as "councils" in the article mentioned above], set by law, but their number and jurisdiction may vary in large city people's councils. The law does not oblige municipality people's councils to have such internal councils, but it permits them to be established and gives the people's councils the right to define the sphere of their work. For instance, it would be counter to the new law for individual municipalities to establish an internal council for general questions, which might later be there should be a real need for them, as in the more developed municipalities which have a maximum number of council members. However, these internal councils should be established to handle specific administrative matters.

Village people's councils are particularly important to the organisation of municipality councils. The law provides for the establishment of village councils and prescribes their rights and duties. Village councils may be established when the individual character of a village so permits and a village so desires, but their work and sphere of activity should be such that the function of the municipality is not destroyed. Their work should be correlated of every village settlement in the municipality are taken into consideration. Republic laws and especially the statutes of municipality councils should clearly pality regulate the rights and relations of village councils and municipality councils.

2. The new structure of people's councils requires new and significantly different work methods than those in effect up to now. The law does not stipulate that meetings of councils must take place at stipulated times. However, people's councils are virtually in continuous session. Internal councils and commissions should participate in preparation for meetings; they are obligated to be acquainted with the plan and to propose decrees governing work for

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which the council is responsible. Members of people's councils must be cognizant of their rights and responsibilities. They are not summoned to meetings only to vote or to approve and disapprove decisions, but also to raise questions, discuss problems, and reach decisions. Commissions should be set up for this type of work; namely, to discuss, or tricize, and improve upon proposals issuing from the internal councils. They should provide reports which would be used as a basis for discussion in meetings.

The Commission for Petitions and Complaints, for instance, ought to be an agency in the people's council for the protection of the legal rights of citizens. The commission is not an ordinary office for accepting complaints about administration, which corrects illegalities, discloses inconsistencies which may arise as new situations develop and in the regulations governing them, self-governing organizations and establishments. Similarly, temporary commissions, especiall; survey commissions, should be the agencies through which act upon them.

This change in the work methods of people's councils requires that council members be informed promptly of meetings, and that necessary material be supplied them for briefing before meetings. This is especially important in sez and city people's councils. They have two consultative bodies [veca, which is translated as "houses" in the article mentioned above], which may hold separate or joint meetings. Separate sessions usually require an exchange of applicable texts and editorial conformity. The law recognizes joint sessions for the purpose of elections or discussions, where members of both bodies work as a whole. The law permits them to settle in joint session those questions which might normally be settled in separate sessions, providing a majority of the accours of both bodies agree on a settlement.

The chairman of the people's council presides at joint sessions, and council members chosen for this purpose preside at separate sessions. Chairmen of the consultative bodies are not regular officials of the council, but are elected to office for a year, with the privilege of being reelected.

Work methods of internal councils and consultative bodies are similar to work methods of people's councils. Internal councils are collegis which are not occupied with ordinary administrative matters, but with major and priority matters. Their composition should be so limited that they may work rapidly and as an entity. The council's success depends in large measure on the successful work of its internal councils.

3. In outlining the work methods of people's councils and their agencies, the problem of basic relations between them is taken into account in the division of rights and duties, and the coordination and cooperation required in the settlement of questions. The chairman of the people's council is not a president /mayor? of a municipality, a bulgomaster, or city manager, who are in effect functionaries of local autonomous government. He is not an English Lord Mayor or a French mayor, who act as executive agencies of an autonomous government. He is a council member with political authority and communal culture who represents the people's council in its dealings with other agencies or citizens. He convokes and makes preparation for council meetings, coordinates the work of agencies of the council, and sees that resolutions, acts, and measures of the people's council are executed. The secretary is directly responsible to the chairman and takes orders from him. Although the chairman does not intervene directly in administration, he is in charge of administrative policy. He exercises this responsibility through the secretary, who is in charge of administration.



4. Administration as envisaged in the new law is the sum of services, techniques, activities, and personnel extending professional, technical, and other aid to the people's council and its agencies in the execution of its functions. Consequently, certain management personnel have specific rights in which other agencies of the people's council may not intervene. Administration as defined by the new law does not include administrative policy-making, which is done by the internal councils. It includes rather the execution and application of administrative policy, which has been made by the internal councils.

The one basic administrative agency in all people's councils is the secretariat. In manicipality people's councils, the secretariat is a relatively taxy, only a few while-collar-workers are necessary, except in large cities and the most highly developed srezes.

Within the framework of these general provisions, a strong administrative organization will be set up in every people's council. Its internal structure will depend on the extent of administrative work in internal councils must be kept in mind that only a specific activity will just'fy the existence of an administrative organizational unit, because it is better to assign a specific job to a specialist than to a unit. The specialist should have respect and rank based on the importance of the work he is assigned and on his qualifications and demonstrated success, rather than on the rank and title of the organizational unit he heads.

The internal activities of administration are matters for future regulation, for the new law does not contain any particular provisions concerning them. However, these activities should receive much more attention than they have heretofore. Administration must be freed from excessive paper work, record-keeping, slowness, prograstination, and evasion of responsibility. The Inspection Administration in the repulsic Councils for Legislation and Development of the People's Authority, is pledged to help see that these questions are understood and properly resolved.

5. The new law has made some significant changes in the method of holding elections for municipality people's councils and for srez or city internal councils. In addition to the former method of nominating candidates for member-who sign a petition to that effect, the law calls for nominations to be made by conventions of electors. This will result in greater participation by electors in the selection of candidates. The former system is justified only in a system where there is more than one party. In Yugoslavia where the masses are candidates in conventions of electors, where candidates' qualifications can be discussed in public and where a large number of candidates can be chosen than least twice as many candidates as there are offices to be filled.

The new electoral system extends breader and more realistic conditions for council members to represent the body which elects them. Elections of members cannot be based only on the question of their political merit. Their qualifications, professional and general knowledge, and other personal ami moral qualities must be taken into account. Only council members who are politically reputable and professionally and personally esteemed, who see in public affairs conditions for progress for a socialist society and for each working man, can successfully handle the extensive prerogatives within the jurisdiction of people's

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